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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2638



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11 June 1982

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No. 2638

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## INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

### PAPU SEEKS FINANCIAL BACKING FROM TANZANIA, UGANDA, KENYA

AB281546 Paris AFP in English 1504 GMT 28 May 82

[Text] Dar es Salaam, 28 May (AFP)--Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have been asked by a six-day conference of Pan-African Postal Union (PAPU) to give financial and administration backing to the organization's operations.

The appeal to the three East African states today came in the wake of allegations by the PAPU Administrative Council of misappropriation of the organization's money two days ago, when it was claimed that contributions by member-states had been placed in private accounts in Paris and PAPU Secretariat officials had exceeded their budgetary ceiling.

The PAPU conference, attended by some 25 member countries in the north Tanzanian town of Arusha since last Tuesday, urged the East African countries to work closely with the organization's Assistant Secretary General Fred Johnson to inform member-states periodically on the progress of the union's management areas.

Reports reaching here today from conference sources said the Administrative Council has been directed to submit to member-countries a detailed report on the organisation's financial management for 1980/82 fiscal years by next September.

It is understood that Tanzania, as host country to the PAPU Secretariat, promised to make available to member-countries the authentic external auditors' report which apparently could not be traced at the Secretariat despite repeated demands by delegates. The demands were prompted by claims from a number of delegates that documents submitted to the conference were not only incomplete but falsified.

An earlier report by the official Tanzanian news agency, SHIHATA, said Tanzania will continue to support the Arusha-based continental postal organization--a specialised agency of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)--despite nonrepayment of earlier loans.

In its first year of operation PAPU received from Tanzania 364,545 dollars, some of which is still outstanding. Tanzanian Minister for Transport and Communication John Malacela, who chaired the conference, said his country would be prepared to finance up to 25 percent of the PAPU annual budget if contributions from member-states are not remitted in time.

CSO: 4700/1288

## BRIEFS

ONE-PARTY STATE--Nairobi--In an obvious attempt to forestall the creation of an opposition party, Kenya's ruling KANU party moved here yesterday to amend the nation's constitution and turn it into a single-party state. At the end of 6-hour-long session, the leaders of the Kenya African National Union adopted a motion recommending that opposition parties be declared illegal. Kenya's constitution permits the creation of opposition parties, but previous efforts at setting them up failed. [Text] [Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 1 Jun 82 p 11]

CSO: 4701/79

BARTER NOW USED IN FISH PROFITEERING SYSTEM

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 5 May 82 p 2

[Text] For a period, as a result of the action taken some months ago to reduce the number of blackmarketers and speculators who camped there selling fish, there was no unusual activity in Praça 25 de Junho near the exit gate for travelers from Catembe. That period has passed, and things are humming again in that location. It happens every day at nightfall. Only the systems once used for both wholesale and retail trade have changed. Today the black-marketing and speculation are conducted not only with currency but also with the barter of such goods as sugar and rice, among others.

The change in the systems used appears mainly in the time of day that the deals are made and in the product that constitutes the "currency" for the transactions. Whereas, previously, the negotiations and regulating sale were conducted in broad daylight, lately the business has been conducted under cover of night.

Bread Main Currency for Wholesale Business

In addition to the blackmarketing by retailers, there is another type of transaction involving the fishermen themselves.

According to our information, bread is among the principal products used to barter for fish from the fishermen when they return from the sea. The fishermen accept bread because of the increasing demand for this product.

According to the same sources, "the fishermen trade a certain quantity of fish for bread, but there is no set rate. When the fish is 'magumba,' the quantity received is considerable, but for other types of fish, you can count the number on one hand," we heard from Manuel Jorge, a resident of the district of Chamanculo, who is familiar with the way business is conducted.

Speculation Begins With Sales to Public

Avoiding the danger of doing business in broad daylight, after acquiring the fish "wholesale," the retailers conduct their activities at night. "Magumba," which is included in the list of so-called third-class fish, for which the legal price is 25 meticals per kilogram, is sold on the blackmarket for 20

meticals for five fish, while for other types of fish the prices vary from 200 to 400 meticals for three or four fish.

#### Collusion

Given this picture, the assumption is that some individuals connected with the bakeries are involved, considering the increasing shortage of bread and the fact that people are showing up in the Praca 25 de Junho with large quantities of it, ready to do business. According to existing directives, each bread buyer has the right to 5 or 10 loaves at the bakery, but the amounts sold daily (although they are concealed) reveal what must be going on.

6362

CSO: 4742/302

DUTCH OFFICIAL REVIEWS AID, PROMISES COOPERATION

Maputo NOTICIAS In Portuguese 30 Apr 82 p 10

[Text] Tjaco van den Hout, charge d'affaires of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the People's Republic of Mozambique, has told NOTICIAS that his government is maintaining an active policy in southern Africa, aimed basically at two objectives: to support the efforts of southern African countries to free themselves from economic dependence on South Africa, through close cooperation, and to increase pressure on the Government of South Africa to dismantle the "apartheid" system.

The Dutch diplomat was speaking on the occasion of the National Day of the Netherlands, also called Queen's Day (30 April), which for him was a moment to reflect on the work achieved here.

Van den Hout explained that his country welcomed the creation of the SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Council] as a useful tool in attracting the financing needed for real and efficient regional cooperation in the effort to reduce dependency on South Africa.

"Our former Minister van der Klaaw was the first foreign relations minister outside Africa to announce publicly that he would personally take part in the conference," he said, adding:

"At that time we pledged 31 million guilders to rehabilitate the port of Beira and we entered negotiations with your minister of ports and ground transportation to carry out a program, which was immediately initiated in collaboration with the CFM ["Mozambican Railways]."

Another 30 million guilders to improve the port of Beira was pledged during the SADCC conference held in Malawi, bringing the total to 61 million guilders (about 854 million meticals).

According to the Dutch charge d'affaires, half this amount was a gift and the other half is a loan with favorable terms--an interest rate of less than 1 percent (0.75 percent), with the first 10 years interest-free and a repayment period of 50 years, that is, by the year 2030.

Speaking further about the program to rehabilitate the port of Beira, which will also include technical assistance from Dutch specialists, Van den Hout

said: "Much work has already gone into this project, including surveys and studies begun in 1981. We are pleased to confirm that in 1982 all this study will culminate in specific action, with positive results. It has gone so well and so quickly because of the good cooperation we have had with the respective Mozambican ministry."

The Dutch diplomat also spoke about cooperation with Mozambique outside the framework of the SADCC. Before that organ was created, "we already had extensive bilateral cooperation programs. In fact," he added, "even before independence we were negotiating with FRELIMO and with the transition government on matters related to cooperation development."

According to the speaker, the Netherlands cooperates with our country in several areas; namely, health, agriculture, fishing, transportation, industry and energy, water supply, road construction and information.

In this regard, the diplomat added: "We are also taking part in a program of diversified activities in the north of your country, involving health, water, agriculture, etc. We are studying the plan of operations for this project, which was prepared by Mozambican agencies. May I say that we are impressed with the work that has been done and expect to arrive at an agreement in a genuine spirit of cooperation between two equal partners."

#### Pressure on South Africa

"We will do everything possible to see that the Netherlands participates more effectively in the existing oil embargo against South Africa. New Dutch investments in South Africa will be discouraged and imports will be reduced," the diplomat said in reference to measures taken and to be taken by his country in relation to South Africa.

Last year the Dutch Government cancelled its cultural treaty with the Republic of South Africa and, in the consular area, it joined Belgium and Luxembourg in requiring visas for South Africa, planning to visit these countries.

"In this way we hope to bring more pressure to bear on the Government of South Africa to dismantle the system of apartheid, although this is a long and difficult road. In fact, however, only when the system of apartheid is eliminated will the region have the stability that will permit lasting economic development."

Regarding the Namibian question, our speaker said his country hopes for a speedy and just solution so the territory can achieve its independence.

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CSO: 4742/302

MAPUTO SAID NOT TO REFLECT NATION'S TRUE IMAGE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 5 May 82 p 1

[Editorial by Nelson Malangabi]

[Text] Some people come here from abroad and are charmed by Maputo. There are people who have always lived in Maputo and never arrived here from abroad, who are equally charmed with this alien reality, this European view which has been instilled in African eyes.

Some foreigners who come to Maputo say they expected a different city. "Maputo does not look like Africa," they say.

The Africa they are talking about is perhaps suspect, but it is true that, from some angles, Maputo does suggest Europe. I am not referring to its physical appearance, but to the prevailing culture in certain circles.

There is a culture in Maputo which does not mirror the country. It is like water which has been tinted so as to appear to have come from another source. It deceives because it is ashamed of its origins. Looking at this side of Maputo, one does not see Mozambique, the countryside, the signs of misery, poverty and ignorance.

The Maputo of which I speak is blind to the nation. The country means nothing more than the signing of a dispatch, the carpeting in the office, the stereo in the living room, the search for luxury items, the fashion parade at the entrance to the theater.

Even more serious, many Mozambicans mistake the capital for the nation. Reports are sent to the "nation" (meaning to the central agencies of the government).

The visitors come from the "nation." The "solution" to local problems is delayed because it is expected to come from the Maputo-nation. This "nation" to which so many appeals are sent cannot respond; first, because its eyes and ears are turned elsewhere and, second, because we do not want this kind of relationship between the capital and the rest of the country, between the central and local agencies of government.

The thoughts I have expressed apply only to one part of Maputo. There is another capital--the one that took over the streets in the May Day celebrations. This is what gives personality and color to this city that takes pride in the scarlet banners it displays.

PUBLIC URGED TO TAKE PART IN CAMPAIGN AGAINST CRIME

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 27 Apr 82 p 1

[Text] Assaults and house robberies in the still of the night are assuming alarming proportions, because of their frequency and in the relative impunity of their perpetrators.

People have even met their death when some thief, caught red-handed or not, in desperation or deliberately, crossed the line that separate him from murder.

Citizens are particularly irate and unhappy about seeing personal property disappear in minutes, property that in most cases represents years of saving and sacrifice--and because it is personal, the subjective value of the stolen property is even greater than its mere economic value. This feeling is building up and creating waves of social unrest, just the opposite of what we need in this phase of new beginnings and the general struggle for a happier and easier life.

The crime problem has deep social causes. Just as no one is born better than anyone else, no one brings with him into this world any "germ" for robbery or crime. There is a whole range of specific interaction between the individual and society that can lead one or another person down this path. Therefore, it is only by eliminating the underlying social causes--in our case, for example, underdevelopment, unemployment, even the actions of our foreign enemies--that crime will be eradicated.

Citizens will not be satisfied with theoretical explanations, however, and simply "wait" for the process to reach some fixed "end," which does not exist.

Nor is it acceptable to make the police or the state the only scapegoat, asking indignantly what "they" are waiting for. It is not humanly possible to send an agent to guard each and every home--who guards the home of the man who is guarding our home?

The word "people's," which is part of the designation for our republic and our police, is not there just because it sounds nice. It is there because it is intended that the people constitute the only "competent body" to solve their problems. In this case, we do not mean by personally beating up the

one thief caught red-handed while 100 others commit robberies and are not caught, but rather by mutual cooperation between the grassroots organizations representative of the residents, and the security and defense forces.

In this regard, we would suggest even that the GD's [obliging groups] (which are now being reactivated), in addition to exchanging information regularly with the PPM [Mozambique People's Police], should join with the PPM to study the feasibility of reintroducing the night guard. Actually, this service is not, as many people think, an attribute of capitalism or colonialism. It has a socially useful function within the context that a given society assigns to it. With an armed night guard in each residential block of the major cities, a guard chosen on the basis of strict criteria, whose salary would be paid by contributions from the people he "guards," we are certain that the crime problem could be reduced within a short time.

This is not the final or only answer to the question, but it would be one practical demonstration of the meaning of "people's power"--of the idea that there is, in fact, no eternal father watching over us from above and that, today in Mozambique, our fate is in our own hands.

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CSO: 4742/302

## MOZAMBIQUE

### BRIEFS

BEIRA'S POOR SUPPLY SYSTEM--Mario Guerreiro, director of GOAM [Office for the Organization of Provisioning] was recently in the city of Beira, sent by the Domestic Trade Ministry to make a study of the current supply situation in that area of the country. The trip is one of the first steps taken by the ministry to examine ways to ease the shortage of various food products which the city of Beira has been experiencing. Asked by RM [Radio Mozambique] in Beira to comment on the distribution problems in the Sofala Province capital, Guerreiro said: "Since I did not have a chance to see the way things were before, I have no basis for a comparison, because in matters of supply there are ups and downs. Sometimes factory production is normal and on other occasions the same factories are idled, and this affects supplies." Guerreiro said that from his contacts with producers, warehouses and local agencies responsible for distribution, he was led to conclude that the situation is difficult. "There is a shortage of some products and others are not available at all." In the same interview, the GOAM director noted the advantages of the new supply system now in effect in Maputo, declaring that it insures a fair distribution of all the available products. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 5 May 82 p 1] 6362

OFFICIAL TRAFFIC WITH ZIMBABWE--Mozambique and Zimbabwe have just facilitated the entry of official delegations into each country, the Mozambican news agency AIM has reported, citing a note from the Mozambican MNE [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]. The governments of the two countries agreed that beginning on 1 April, official delegations will be issued visas at the entry stations, thus doing away with the need to request entry visas from the respective embassies. The note from the ministry states that official delegations on missions must, however, inform the embassies of the planned arrival date to facilitate notification of the migration services. The note adds that the delegations must carry credentials from their organizations and must still apply for entry visas through the embassies. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs note indicates that visas must be granted within 9 days. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 27 Apr 82 p 1] 6362

CSO: 4742/302

COMMENTARY ON SWAPO, NEED FOR NEGOTIATIONS

Windhoek ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 4 May 82 p 2

[Editorial by Hans Feddersen: "Political Manuevers"]

[Text] SWAPO's reply to the West comes at a time when the process of gaining our independence is influenced by political maneuvers: P. W. Botha holds talks with Kenneth Kaunda--at the same time Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Ilychew visits Angola and promises more military aid. East German Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer arrives today in Luanda where he will talk with Angolan and SWAPO leaders.

During the weekend, Angola condemned South Africa's alleged preparations for a military invasion, and finally Sam Nujoma called the foreign ministers of the "frontier states" to Dar-es-Salam. During all these diplomatic talks the negotiating partners should remember the following basic facts:

--The revolution that has been promised for South Africa for 30 years has not taken place.

--An economic boycott of South Africa would hit at least 12 black African countries, and would also raise the unemployment rates (because of market losses) in European countries.

--The United States could resist at any time threats by African countries. Nigeria, e.g., is not in a position to go through with an oil boycott against America. South Africa remains of strategic value for the West and has in recent times shown its readiness to deal with internal problems. This readiness is attested by the housecleaning actions within the NP of South Africa, by P. W. Botha's meeting with Kaunda and by the new law in favor of a referendum. It can be expected that after the referendum the colored and Indian populations of South Africa will be given the same political rights as the whites.

--SWAPO is dependent upon East bloc countries and has already proven its undemocratic character when 1000 critics of Nujoma were imprisoned without trial.

--46 African countries are trading with South Africa.

--America will have found out that it is not as easy to remove the Cubans from Angola as the Carter government's Andrew Young once thought.

In spite of the liberal aid they receive from the UN, SWAPO and the frontier states must not depend on themselves alone because South Africa will give priority to its own security interests. That means that only the United States is in a position to remove future concerns of South Africa on insufficient security measures. Only negotiations, not a military solution, can make a contribution in this regard.

8889

CSO: 4720/11

COMMENTARY ON SWAPO, DTA, REJECTION OF SETTLEMENT PLAN

Windhoek ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 5 May 82 p 2

[Editorial by Hans Feddersen: "The Plaything"]

[Text] When SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma rejected the Western proposals on the day before yesterday, the 7-year birth pains of our independence process received another cut. Whatever may happen in the future, the plaything in all negotiations and other actions is always the population of the former colony, primarily the black population. It becomes the martyr of a future to which it cannot itself contribute!

Four years ago, the DTA was elected by an overwhelming majority in countrywide elections but then refused to prepare a constitution for the country. We recall that Sam Nujoma at that time had the opportunity to shape himself the future of SWAPO: SWAPO could have participated in the elections. And even today, when many people say that Sam Nujoma would win overwhelmingly, SWAPO is not ready to participate in an election. Who suffers?

The Western powers took it upon themselves to provide at least the guarantees that in the future South Africa would be ready for negotiations and eventually for a UN supervised election that would lead to independence. But the Western powers too had to realize that the best plans met with much resistance. African countries disapproved of the "hypocritical" action by the Western contact group.

The longer the process of independence is delayed, the more obvious becomes the suffering of our population. The financial problems of our economy need hardly be called to mind. How can an economy prosper when there is so much political uncertainty? Who is going to invest money when we are continually told that the hands of the Council of Ministers are tied? Who has not repeatedly questioned why so few blacks have been trained for public service since 1978?

And yet, there have hardly been opportunities for success for the DTA since 1978. For 4 years now, time has been on the side of Sam Nujoma. That he nevertheless does not think it necessary to participate in elections does more harm to his image than did the last 4 years to the DTA. Unfortunately, the population remains a helpless plaything. How can the economy make progress, how can anybody be at all optimistic when "other guidelines from somewhere above" are followed?

VOTING RIGHTS FOR GERMANS

Windhoek ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 22 April 82, p 2

[Editorial by Hans Feddersen: "Second-Rate"]

[Text] When will the German-speaking population of this country get the right to vote? This question may appear rather silly, but it becomes serious in view of the practices followed in "elections on the third government level." In municipal elections everybody is courting Afrikaans-speaking South African voters. Why? In elections on the third government level the German population is still second-rate. Even though they were used for countrywide elections (for the National Assembly and for the ethnic white government) and even though they were permitted to mark their ballots, a by-election for the Karibib City Council made it clear how much absenteeism there was among the eligible German voters.

What is the reason for this? According to the Municipal Directive of 1963 Germans are eligible to vote only if they can prove real estate ownership and if therefore they pay city taxes, or if they have been local residents for a certain number of years. Voting eligibility conditions are different for ethnic and national elections. When these were held, voters were sometimes registered who had been in the country for only one year. The most important criterium still is that a voter in municipal elections must be a South African citizen and over 18 years old. So simple are the conditions for South African citizens ("foreigners?").

In connection with the above mentioned city council elections and its "second-rate voter lists" (a statement made to the AZ) it seems appropriate to raise again the question concerning the voting rights for Germans. It looks strange, after all, that there are different voting conditions for the highest government level, where day-by-day politics in all its various forms is "made," that there is the greatest concern about voting rights. Once again: when will the German citizens get the right to vote in municipal elections?

From this point of view it is not surprising that many German-speaking citizens are breathing a sigh of relief when it is announced that beginning in June the central government will "take over" the third government level. Maybe this is the right opportunity to change voting rights conditions.

COMMENTARY ON GERMAN VOTING RIGHTS

Windhoek ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 26 April 82, p 2

[Text] Last Thursday the ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG [AZ] asked the question: when will the German-speaking population of this country get the right to vote? We wanted to call attention to the fact that according to article 29 (1) of the Municipal Directives of 1963 there is discrimination against German citizens when it comes to municipal voter lists. On the basis of reactions to our article, the AZ can state today that conditions are even worse than our editorial assumed: regardless of how much tax the "Reich-German" pays (and how much real estate he owns), he may vote only if he was 18 years old or older on 30 June 1963, lived in the city limits and has retained his residence. In addition, an "ordinary statement" (not even a sworn statement) was required that the potential voter was white, a South African citizen and that he had lived within the city limits for at least 2 years. Germans who moved to the city after 1 July 1963 are allowed to vote in national or ethnic elections but are not eligible for municipal elections.

We stated that the taking over of the third level government by the central government might be the right opportunity to change voting rights conditions. An appropriate innovation would be the establishment of a municipal registration office, as they are customary in Europe. Passports and identity cards are no longer sufficient. This kind of registration office is needed in principle, and it could eliminate many problems. It could, e.g., be of assistance in compiling municipal voter lists.

As of right now, it is up to the residents of a town whether they (to be sure: 18-year old white South Africans) appear on the voting lists for city council elections. These technical conditions could be facilitated by a central registration office.

From reactions to its article the AZ learned that discrimination against Germans who pay property and municipal taxes but may not vote is even more serious: they may own as much property as they like; unless they are white South Africans, the length of their residency or the ownership of real estate will not help them, unless they have lived in one of our cities since 1963. On the other hand, their votes are needed for the National Assembly and for the ethnic National Council...

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS' EXPENSES DISCUSSED

Windhoek ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 27 Apr 82, p 2

[Editorial by Hans Feddersen: "Money Wasted"]

[Text] In less than one month the central government will submit the annual budget to the National Assembly. Then the economic situation will have to be examined more carefully, and there will be enough reasons for strong debates. It is often not clear to the population what the government does with the money, and sometimes emotions are aroused by speculations and irresponsible misunderstandings.

Our economy must deal with falling prices in the mining industry and in Karakul [sheep] farming as well as with the continuing drought.

For this reason, certain questions must be answered during the budget debate:

What do second level governments do with their money? Is it true that Peter Kalangula ordered eight Mercedes-Benz cars for the Ovambo government?--The spokesman for the ruling DTA denied reports that the Council of Ministers allegedly bought eight limousines.

Does the chairman of the white executive need an official palatial residence for 400,000 rands?

Does the colored government need a fleet of buses (even though bought second-hand) and television sets for school use?

Was it necessary to buy a new airplane for more than 2 million rands for SWAWEK?

Are all investments made by ENOK justified?

Do the Walvis Bay fish processing plants which, after all, catch their fish in our waters pay taxes to Windhoek or to South Africa? And when will the Roessing Mine finally pay its taxes?

Council of Ministers chairman Dirk Mudge stated before his trip to the United States that, as far as our economy is concerned, we are in the darkest hour of night. Nevertheless, aid projects to Ovambo and investment projects amounting to more than 100 million are continuing. It is hoped, of course, that our economy will recover as soon as possible. But as long as government institutions waste money, the ordinary citizen must remain suspicious.

SOUTH AFRICA

PFP OPPOSES INFORMATION BILL

MB271420 Johannesburg RAND DAILY in English 27 May 82 p 10

[Excerpts] The assembly--the PFP [Progressive Federal Party]--said yesterday that the protection of information bill would have prevented Judge Anton Mostert from releasing evidence about the activities of the former Department of Information.

The PFP yesterday continued its efforts to narrow down the provisions of the bill, which amends and replaces the existing Official Secrets Act.

During the committee stage debate, Mr Tian Van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point) said the bill contained impossibly wide provisions, particularly in an "obnoxious" clause on official secrets. "This clause can prevent disclosure of any corrupt behaviour, any improper behaviour and in fact any illegal action as long as it related to defence, security or a prohibited place," he said.

Mr Peter Gastrow (PFO, Durban Central), said another clause put foreign correspondents, or foreign researchers or academics doing work in this country, at risk. It referred to anyone "directly or indirectly employed by any foreign or international body or institution" and, if any information deemed prejudicial to the security or interests of the republic were published, the presumption was that it was published for this purpose.

Attempts by the PFP to delete "the interests of the republic" in several clauses failed.

The minister of justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said there was a distinction between the security of the country and its interests, which could include matters such as foreign exchange and trade links. He also said the courts had already held that embarrassing the government of the day was not synonymous with the interests of the state.

The bill was approved at committee stage after several divisions [votes].

CSO: 4700/1288

## SOUTH AFRICA

### ARMS ISSUE IN FALKLANDS CONFLICT COMMENTED ON

LD251830 Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 25 May 82

[Station commentary]

[Text] The Falklands war is being fought on each side with weapons which come from the Western arsenal. Harriers are engaged in the air with Mirages; British-built Men-of-War supplied to Argentina are opposing the Royal Navy; it was a French-built missile fired from a French-built aircraft that sunk the British destroyer HMS Sheffield. And this is the situation in which rumors of arms supplies by South Africa to both Argentina and Britain burgeoned on Monday.

The ARGUS newspapers reported allegations that South Africa was providing Argentina with missiles and Mirage spare parts. The allegations were denied by the minister of defense, Gen Magnus Malan, in parliament.

On the same Monday morning London's DAILY MAIL asked under a banner headline whether South Africa was supplying Britain with arms. It is known that South Africa has specialized equipment called a drop tank which could provide British aircraft operating in the Falklands with greater range and capability. A British defense spokesman neither confirmed nor denied the drop tank story.

But these rumors have directed attention to South Africa's armaments industry and to the circumstances in which it came into being--the isolation of South Africa and the related lack of a comprehensive Western policy for this part of the globe. When in the early 1960's Western countries, including Britain, imposed an arms embargo against South Africa it was obliged to produce its own weapons. Since then it has made much progress, and as with all substantial arms manufacturers it has exported certain of its products and has entered into contracts for their supply to friendly nations. It was done so for economic and strategic purposes.

Today South Africa has the world's 10th largest arms industry, and this, together with its geographic position and base facilities, is another reason why it should be integrated into a coordinated system for the defense of the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans. But there is no such system, and the Falklands conflict is driving wedges in all directions into what should be a noncommunist alliance. Too strongly anti-Marxist countries are at war with each other.

South America is being alienated from the United States, the solidarity of Britain with its European partners is being strained and countries which desire friendly relations with both Britain and Argentina are being driven into opposing camps. This is a vortex of confusion into which the weapons rumors have drawn South Africa.

CSO: 4700/1288

REPORT ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS AWAITED WITH ANXIETY

A Voice for the Coloreds and Asians

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] A momentous and comprehensive political debate over South Africa's political future (probably the most far reaching in the country's history) will begin this week in Capetown. In some circles this is already being branded as a dividing point in history.

The general expectation is that the debate, which will revolve about the proposals of the Presidential Council, will be dominating the political picture in the coming months as no other matter has ever done.

The debate can lead to the greatest constitutional reform since the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The aim of the proposals is to give coloreds and Asians a voice in the decisionmaking process of the country along with the whites.

Every political party in the country will be involved in the debate and points of view will be assumed in the highest party entities. The decisions which will ultimately be made will not be without consequences for the political parties. There is also the possibility that the planned new order of things will be tested by means of a referendum or referendums. The ball will get rolling on Wednesday when the first report of the Constitutional Committee of the Presidential Council will be issued along with the report of the Committee for Economic Affairs.

The entire Presidential Council will be discussing the reports for an entire week, after which it will be presented to the government along with possible comments.

The Nationalist Party has already committed itself to a process of intensive consultations before it finally expresses its opinion on the proposals. It may be assumed that the cabinet will be giving consideration to the proposals at the earliest opportunity. Thereafter there will be negotiations with the coloreds and Indians before a set of guidelines are drafted for presentation to the Nationalist Party's parliamentary caucus.

## Referendum

The following high level bodies to which the proposals and the government's current viewpoints will be submitted include the Nationalist Party's Federal Congress which will be meeting on 30 and 31 July in Bloemfontein. The Federal Congress has no faculty to make enforceable decisions; however, it is expected that the Federal Congress will come up with recommendations which will be submitted to the Nationalist Party's provincial congresses.

The first provincial congress (the one in Natal) will be held in Durban during 19 and 20 August. It will be followed by the Free State Congress at Bloemfontein on 1 and 2 September, the Transvaal Congress on 13, 14 and 15 September to be held in Pretoria and the Cape Province's Congress on 4, 5 and 6 October in East London.

Prime Minister P.W. Botha has indicated that he is planning to attend personally all the provincial congresses of the party. If there is drastic deviation from the present system then the will of the people will be tested in a referendum or referendums. As matters now stand a referendum can be held at the end of this year or early next year.

The proposals which are being decided will be submitted to Parliament's permanent Constitutional Committee during next year's parliamentary session after which a legislation can be expected.

The Nationalist Party is also considering several other opportunities during which the proposals of the Presidential Council can be discussed. The Nationalist Party of the Cape Province will be holding a conference of all the Cape Province's MPs and Members of Provincial Councils on 22 May in Capetown where the proposals will be explained. An extraordinary caucus assembly of the Free State's MPs and members of the Provincial Council will be held in Bloemfontein on 10 June. The proposals can also be discussed here, outside of organizational matters.

The Nationalist Party's Parliamentary Study Group on internal affairs is already conducting a week long debate on constitutional concepts. A decision has been made to hold an additional meeting on 4 June in order to close the debate. On this occasion the constitutional proposals could also be discussed.

In the months ahead other political parties will also be involved in far reaching talks and adaption of points of views on the planned new order. For the Progressive Federal Party the proposals could create a great dilemma. On the one hand there will be great pressure from the party's rightwing to support any reform measure, even if it is more limited than the party would like to see. On the other hand the militant leftwing will press for the continuation of the party's boycott policy, because the new order might not have made provision for black people.

There is also the possibility that the Presidential Council's proposals could come up for discussion in the debate on the third reading of the draft

legislation for the budget in Parliament. The debate will be held towards the end of the present parliamentary session. As matters now stand it is expected that the session can be wound up toward the end of May or early June.

Although lately there have been strong speculations on the possibility of a second parliamentary session during the second half of the year, this appears to be very improbable. To be sure DIE BURGER has it on high authority that such a plan has not yet been considered or discussed by the government.

#### Desire and Willingness a Must for Success

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 May 82 p 11

[Text] A new political order in South Africa will succeed only if the people who must coexist in this order of things want to do it with all their hearts' so stated Minister of Internal Affairs Chris Heunis.

Speaking in Bloemfontein on Saturday Mr Heunis said that political institutions can be drawn up on the drafting board of advisory bodies, but such institutions obtain credibility, viability and vitality only from the cordial agreement of those who must live out their political rights there.

He was addressing the Afrikaans Student Association's Southern Actuality Conference, at the Free State University, on the subject of Survival in Justness from a Political Angle.

Mr Heunis said that if there is to be a political structure which guarantees existence and justice then the spirit of justice of live and let live must be ready and willing in the hearts of South Africa's people and remain so.

#### Revolutionary

As has happened before in history the Afrikaner is facing the inexorable choice of either listening to his conscience (the voice of justice) or allowing himself to be drawn into the blind passions of selfishness, dolce-far-niente, and shortsightedness. The sad thing is to find the Afrikaners in two camps with respect to this matter; however, Heunis believes that by following the latter way out a small minority of Afrikaners will end up degrading themselves.

Just as it is foolish to neglect the Afrikaner's political will for existence and the maintenance of civilized standards, it will also be dangerously foolish to neglect the growing aspirations and expectations of the other minority groups in South Africa.

When institutions are wanting with respect to the reasonable political aspirations of other groups, such aspirations will in the long run find expression in revolutionary measures endangering the security and stability of the entire community and destroying further possibilities of a just order of things.

With respect to the constitutional future of the coloreds and the Asians Mr Heunis said that there is only one way out and that is to offer them the prospect of a joint national structure with the whites. The voters have already repeatedly rejected the idea of a colored homeland and the other way out of continued domination is a solution which the Afrikaner, who himself suffered and endured privations under a century of injustice, may not consider.

"I have no illusion about it; this is a formidable knot which must be cut through. Emotional resistance to a government system which makes provision for colored and Asian participation is not just dormant.

"The resistance is being fomented calculatingly and purposely, rather than conjured up. People participating in this, regardless of their motives, are just playing a reckless game of self-destruction.

"It appears that those who oppose a joint political structure of whites, coloreds and Asians are still dreaming the idle dream of white and colored homelands. It is high time that they awaken from their dream and face reality."

As a basic point of departure for a joint order of things between whites, coloreds and Asians he assumes this will be a central government authority for the white, coloreds and Asiatic population of South Africa, with various governmental institutions at various levels.

In matters of common interest, which the central government must manage, elements of power sharing between the various groups are unavoidable. This means that other groups would be given the opportunity of exercising a joint voice about matters of common interest so as to accept joint responsibility for them.

Mr Heunis said that regardless of what the form of the future constitutional system between white, colored and Asiatic communities will be, there is one task which cannot be left out. This is the task which rests upon every well-meaning citizen of South Africa--namely: the creation of mutual trust and acceptance between the various population groups.

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CSO: 4701/55

DEBATES ON NAMIBIA, UN, SWAZILAND, OTHER NEIGHBORS RELATIONS

White Namibians Not Sold Out

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 7 May 82 p 20

[Text] Yesterday Pik Botha, the minister for Foreign Affairs and Information, rejected accusations that the government has "sold out" the whites of South-West Africa.

During the discussion of his budget item Minister Botha said that since the time of Gen Louis Botha successive South Africa governments have either lost important international disputes about the South-West, or recognized that South Africa has no sovereignty over the South-West.

People are now gossiping about "PW and Pik" [P. W. Botha and Pik Botha] having sold out the whites of South-West. But they fail to recognize that successive governments have consistently followed the same course on the South-West, because all of them have recognized that South Africa has no sovereignty there.

Guarantees

It is necessary to realize that in international politics countries cannot change course as is being done in internal politics. If one country does so then it loses credibility and clashes can ensue which can result in harmful consequences for it in various areas.

After Thomas Langley (Conservative Party, Waterkloof) called on the government to stand by its guarantees to the South-West, Mr Botha said that he had specifically stated that the South African Government has always followed a consistent course with respect to the South-West.

There is more than enough proof that the government has always followed a consistent course with respect to the South-West. Mr Botha appealed to all political parties in Parliament to help the government insure order and stability in the South-West. He also asked for the support of the parties with regard to the principle followed by the government in negotiating over the South-West question.

## Maligned

Mr Botha said that sometimes he doubts whether it is known in the South-West that the South African Government has complied with every guarantee and every promise it has made to the leaders of the South-West. He is asking this question, because it is in the South-West that the government is being maligned and slandered with accusations that it has broken faith with the whites there. It is high time that note is taken inside and outside of the South-West on what South Africa has promised and has not promised.

In the South-West dispute no South African Government has ever, as yet, appealed to an article in the UN Charter which stipulates that the UN may not intervene in the internal affairs of a member country. South Africa has never yet used this article for warding off discussions on the South-West Africa question. At the same time South-West leaders of any time period have gone along with the South African Government on any important development.

## SWAPO

Mr Botha referred to SWAPO's rejection of the two-member voting system for the South-West, which the government had officially accepted on 26 January, and said that a much more serious problem is that SWAPO now apparently is going to reject the three-phase solution of the South-West problem which was previously accepted by all three interested parties.

There is also a report that SWAPO has approached the five western countries for holding another international conference, like the one previously held in Geneva, but in light of all the developments it now refuses to present any particular views or try to spell out what its future will be.

This problem is a very thorny one and holds serious implication for the whole of southern Africa. The government will continue to negotiate on all areas with leaders of the South-West, but the process must be tackled without troubling international negotiations.

## United Nations Ignores Afrikaans Press

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 7 May 82 p 20

[Text] In five publications which recently appeared in the UN, South African English language newspapers were quoted 45 times, but no Afrikaans newspapers were ever quoted, according to what Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

It was during the debate on his budget item that Minister Botha reacted to a speech made the day before yesterday by S. P. Barnard (Conservative Party, Langlaagte), saying that Barnard had said that BEELD (sister newspaper of DIE BURGER) had been quoted more than any other newspaper.

The minister stated that in so doing Barnard implied that BEELD was quoted in order to lend credibility to charges against South Africa. The fact is that English language newspapers were quoted 45 times in five UN publications which appeared recently and no Afrikaans newspapers were quoted.

These are facts and Mr Barnard must accept them.

Mr Botha also said that foreign newspapers have been more positive about South Africa recently than certain elements in South Africa itself.

#### Border Negotiations with Swaziland

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 7 May 82 p 20

[Text] South Africa is not negotiating border adjustments with Swaziland "in the dark" and the government does not want to deny people of their rights. This is what Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information Pik Botha said yesterday during the discussions on his budget item.

Mr Botha said that no agreement has yet been reached and the matter "will not be brought to Parliament as long as consultations on the border adjustments are going on."

"It is impossible to escape history and the fact is that when Swaziland's borders were drawn many Swazis found themselves outside the borders of Swaziland. Thus, even today, thousands of Swazis in South Africa are still swearing allegiance to the kind of Swaziland."

The government will take into careful consideration the desires of those people which can be affected by possible border adjustments and will see to it thereafter that their living standards are not lowered.

Dr Piet Koornhof, the minister for collaboration and development, has already had the first exploratory talks over this matter with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and..."why don't we now wait first to see what compensatory land for Natal, the Parks Council and KwaZulu is offered" before feelings get worked up over this matter?

"We are not negotiating in the dark; we are in the process of testing things out and we do not want to deprive people of their rights. If we are sure of everything we will go to Parliament with a legislation."

#### Relations With Other Neighbors

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 7 May 82 p 20

[Text] South Africa's disavowal of destabilization of neighboring states and interference in their internal affairs is already contained in repeated pronouncements by previous and present prime ministers and members of the cabinet; so stated Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information Pik Botha during the discussion of his budget item.

Minister Botha was reacting to an appeal made by Colin Eglin (Progressive Federal Party, Seepunt) that the government assume a stand against destabilization and that it will not allow its officials or deputies to take part in destabilizing efforts.

Minister Botha said that Mr Eglin's request, that he express himself against such efforts in the name of the government, is contained in various statements by Prime Minister P. W. Botha as well as in statements made by former minister John Vorster.

In 1974, before Mozambique became independent, Mr Vorster said that South Africa does not prescribe internal policy to any neighboring country and South Africa does not meddle in their affairs. The only thing it desires is a stable, orderly government in each of its neighboring states.

As early as 1974 Prime Minister P. W. Botha, when he was still minister of defense, expressed his opposition to South Africans becoming mercenaries.

At that time Mr P. W. Botha expressed his trust that South Africans would not allow themselves to be recruited as mercenary soldiers. There is more than enough opportunity for loyal South Africans to join our armed forces. He does not believe in the endeavors of mercenary soldiers and he also hopes that their activities will not start to take hold in South Africa. At that time the prime minister also expressed himself against interference in the affairs of other countries and likewise against efforts of other countries to meddle in the affairs of South Africa.

In a letter to the secretary general of the UN last year Mr Pik Botha repeated South Africa's opposition against destabilization and interference. This was in reaction to assertions by Lesotho that South Africa was offering jumping-off places to terrorists against that country.

Mr Botha said that Mr Eglin's request that the government express itself against destabilization and mercenaries is contained in the statements which he quoted.

7964

CSO: 4701/60

## SOUTH AFRICA

### 'TRYBUNA LUDU' COMMENTARY ON SOUTH AFRICAN ISSUES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 May 82 p 6

[Article by Tadeusz Pasierbinski: "The South of Africa. Playing with Fire"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The western press again drummed up a detail, trifling in significance, from life in a racist country. This time the authorities of the Republic of South Africa consented to the employment of African women as stewardesses on South African Airlines.../

This type of reporting is supposed to create an impression that the government of Pieter W. Botha "is not that bad" and that it has "an increasingly humanitarian face." In the West, which is linked by numerous and diverse ties to South Africa, it is rather reluctantly being said that /the minor changes in the area of interracial relationships which have been taken by Pretoria, have essentially a tactical character only./ The 4.5 million white minority wants to maintain their domination over the 25 million Native Africans, 2.6 million Metis, and 830,000 Asians, while maintaining the appearance of a certain amount of liberalism. The minority's conviction [is that] the explosion of the "black bomb", i.e., the great racial confrontation, can be avoided by softening apartheid.

It should be remembered that this is the thinking of only the so called enlightened whites, who are concentrated around Premier Botha. The wing of the irreconcilable, however, is clearly becoming more and more active, and they intend to preserve white supremacy at any price. Anyone who does not think their way is a tra or. /Thus, the official policy of South Africa appears to be the result of these two main, competing trends./

#### Tactical differences

Recent evidence of the internal discord within the South African establishment came with the removal of several delegates from the ranks of the National Party which has ruled for 34 years; [these delegates] did not assent to granting limited political rights to the Asiatic and mixed blood populations. Andries Treurnicht, one of the most important figures in the party and in South Africa, was among those removed. Shortly afterwards,

Treurnicht established the Conservative Party of South Africa, thus augmenting the organized forces of the white extremists who have been increasingly more and more visible in their influence. They are reinforced by thousands of white settlers from Rhodesia who left that country after the proclamation of "black" Zimbabwe.

Let us emphasize: /the difference of opinions in the white camp pertains only to the method through which the whites ought to resist the pressure of "black nationalism." They are linked by their common conviction about the need to maintain the present system and the privileged position of the whites/ (only a few break out from that unified front; for instance, 28 year old Neil Aggett, a white union leader who died in February--probably as a result of torture--in the Johannesburg prison). Even Premier Botha, who appeared a couple of times on TV after the split in the National Party, assured that the changes undertaken "will not be at the expense of the whites..."

This is firmly corroborated by the actions of the South African authorities. Last year, in December, the authorities proclaimed the "independence" of a Bantu state, following Transkei, Bobhuthatswana, and Vhavenda; their objectives were, among other things, to improve the utilization of the local labor force and to mollify "rebellious spirits." In addition, the authorities aimed at weakening the influence within the country of the leading liberation organization, the African National Congress, whose armed Umkhonto units in Sizwe have executed ever bolder military operations (the well-known attack last year on the Boortrekkerhogte military complex, near Pretoria).

#### Betting on power

The government has been utilizing it [these events] as a pretext for building up its military and police potential. Last March, Secretary of Defense, Magnus Malan, proposed mandatory military training for all white males aged 17 to 60 and mandatory service in reserve units for males aged 60 to 65.

/There is an increasing amount of data indicating that Pretoria--while making trifling gestures toward the "liberalization of apartheid"--is committed, above all, to resolving issues from a position of power./ This applies not only to internal policy. After the victory of Ronald Reagan, which was greeted with great delight by South African white extremists, the government of South Africa intensified political and military activities aimed at preventing the proclamation of the form of independence wanted by SWAPO, the Namibian liberation organization recognized by the OAU and the UN, as well as the socialist [Soviet bloc] countries.

The efforts of Pretoria, supported behind the scenes by the U.S. and other western countries, resulted in the termination of last year's Geneva Conference on Namibia. It should be noted that the /new administration in Washington has eliminated the constraints on the sale of equipment and

materials for use by the South African police and army/ who have increased operations against the units of SWAPO and intensifies their attacks on SWAPO bases in the southern regions of Angola.

These attacks, by tying up the Angolan forces, assist the rebel group, UNITA, and its leader, Jonas Savimbi, who is maintaining a contact with the Americans. Pretoria hopes that Savimbi will be able to establish a "buffer anti-communist country in the south of Angola." LE MONDE is of a different opinion, saying that sooner or later UNITA will devolve into an "ordinary revolutionized ethnic movement (being supported by the Ovimbundu tribe) and SWAPO will win the elections in Namibia."

The government of South Africa intensively supports a victory for the Conservative Turnhalle Democratic Alliance in the announced Namibian plebiscite and advocates the creation of a cabinet which would be responsive to the interests of the 75,000 whites in Namibia (5 years ago there were 100,000). By the same token [the government of South Africa protects] the interests of the whites in South Africa and in the entire West.

The western "contact group" that is involved in the Namibian issue consists of the U.S., Great Britain, West Germany, France, and Canada, and it dodges and obfuscates. /It pretends to act on behalf of "free Namibia" but in fact, it has the same aims that Pretoria does/ (Savimbi stated on April 5 that he had "positive contacts" with representatives of the western "Five").

For these reasons, it is not surprising that their [the western "Five"] activities are met with negative appraisal in African public opinion, especially in the so called (frontal) countries. SWAPO, which does not limit itself to the spreading of guerilla activities (in April, units approached the "white towns" of Tsumeb and Otavi, about 300 km north of Windhoek) does not even need to be mentioned. Recently [SWAPO] proposed convening a new Geneva conference on Namibia, however, the western countries found that idea "premature..."

Avoiding "fire"

Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere stated recently that /when Namibia is finally independent and South Africa stops using it [Namibia] as the basis for aggressive actions against the Angolan state, then there "will be no need for the Cuban forces to remain in Angola."/ Havana and Luanda are of the same opinion, and Luanda has been evidencing a great amount of diplomatic activity aimed toward a just resolution of the Namibian issue. This has been demonstrated by the visit of the Angolan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paulo Jorge, to Bonn, and to Paris (where he met with the American Undersecretary of State, Chester Crocker).

Portugal also shows visible interest in the totality of issues involving Southern Africa. This is demonstrated by visits of President Eanes to Mozambique, Zambia, and Tanzania, at the end of last year, and to Angola, in April.

We also should note the initiative of President Kenneth Kaunda, of Zambia, who last March proposed a meeting with the Premier of South Africa for the purpose of discussing "the future of South Africa." He stated that "Afrikaners are not racist by nature, but are motivated only by fear." He also assured that the leaders of independent black Africa do not intend to "push the white South Afrikaners into the sea," yet will still not compromise on the issue of apartheid.

/If the Whites/--said Kaunda--/will not realize the need to reevaluate their relationship with the black majority, it might result in the escalation of violence./ And in that event, what will occur will be of such magnitude that the French Revolution will appear like a picnic for children; the south of the continent will be engulfed in a fire which will "devour all of us..."

/There is then something to contemplate. Both in Africa and beyond it./

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CSO: 2600/616

## SOUTH AFRICA

### BRIEFS

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL, BUTHELEZI COMMISSION MEETING--A joint meeting may be held between the constitutional committees of the President's Council and the Buthelezi Commission. Vice-State President Alwyn Schlesbusch has said he would consider an official request for such a meeting. Catherine Thompson reports from Cape Town: [begin recording] Leader of the opposition, Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert has said he would write to Mr Schlesbusch on the matter. Constitutional proposals from the President's Council recommend a joint democracy of whites, coloreds and Indians, but exclude blacks, while the Buthelezi Commission has recommended including all race groups in a federal structure. NATAL opposition MP Mr Graham McIntosh said today such a joint meeting would be very significant. It would mark an end to the impasse in the constitutional debate created by the exclusion of blacks. It would also mean the inclusion of the opposition Progressive Federal Party. Catherine Thompson for Capital News, Cape Town. [end recording] [Text] [MB271419 Umtata Transkei Capital Radio in English 1300 GMT 27 May 82]

BUTHELEZI, PFP MEETING--An historic meeting at the Durban City Hall last night ended with a resolution that was passed unanimously, the motion said the government, as a matter of urgency, should take steps to enable leaders of all race groups to meet and decide together on the future constitution of South Africa. The meeting drew unprecedented crowds to hear a symposium on the Buthelezi Commission and was addressed by the Kwa-Zulu chief and by opposition leader Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert. Carmen Rickard was at the meeting: [begin recording] It must be a long time since Durban city hall saw anything like it. The hall itself was packed half an hour before the meeting began, and during most of the symposium there was a singing, cheering crowd of about 1,000 people in the street outside who weren't allowed in because of fire regulations. Almost 2,000 people, about a quarter of them white, heard the two leaders describe the exclusion of blacks from the President's Council as leading to black-white polarization and violence. Buthelezi attacked South Africa's security laws, saying it was not a matter of opinion that they are among the most inhuman in the world. Dr Slabbert described comments coming from PC [President's Council] members about what blacks like or prefer as stupid and assinine. He called for a debate and joint report between the constitutional committees of the Buthelezi Commission and the President's Council. Carmen Richard in Durban for Capital Radio News. [end recording] [Text] [MB260948 Umtata Transkei Capital Radio in English 0700 GMT 26 May 82]

S. AFRICAN SOLDIER LEAVES AFTER ASYLUM REQUEST

MB271210 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 27 May 82 pp 1, 16

[Article by James Dlamini]

[Text] One of the two white soldiers who deserted from the South African Army and sought political asylum in Swaziland has gone home.

A well-placed source at the United Nations High Commission for refugees said the soldier returned to South Africa last week. According to our source, he was talked into returning to South Africa by his family. They came to Swaziland last week to persuade him to go back. "It took much persuasion, but he eventually agreed," our source said.

The UNHCR representatives in Swaziland discussed his return with him closely with a view to establishing if he had made a voluntary decision to return. "Our worry was that he is a young person who can be easily persuaded," he said.

Government refugee officials also closely interviewed him to check that it was a voluntary decision. Both the UNHCR and the government were satisfied that he had made a genuinely voluntary decision before he finally left with his family for South Africa by road last week.

It was reliably learned that he found South African Security Police waiting for him at the Oshoek border. By returning to the republic, he is risking a possible three to six-year jail sentence for deserting the army.

After serving the sentence, he can be redrafted to serve in the army. If he deserts again or refuses he could be jailed repeatedly in terms of South Africa's law against deserters.

According to our authoritative source the two youngsters are genuine conscientious objectors for both political and religious reasons. "They are highly religious people," he said. "They also object to South Africa's racist policies," he added.

According to our source, the soldier who has returned told refugee officials here that he would be prepared to work for the South African Army as long as he is not sent to the operational area on the border to fight black freedom-fighters waging a bush war against the white regime.

The source said the man does not mind working on some army offices or playing any indirect role--although this would be furthering the success of the entire war machinery. His colleague remains in Swaziland.

In terms of international treaties, Swaziland is obliged to accept as refugees, people who desert from the South African Army either for political or religious reasons. Refusal to accept them would be a contravention of these treaties.

CSO: 4700/1288

ZAIRIAN VIEWS ON REACTION TO RESTORED TIES WITH ISRAEL

Correspondent in Sinai

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 23-24 May 82 p 3

[Commentary by Luzayamo Mankete, special correspondent in the Sinai: "The 'Palestinian' Issue Is Primarily an Arab Issue"]

[Text] When you read carefully the history of the United Nations it is clear that the Arabs themselves have been the origin of most of the tensions in the Middle East. For example, it is because of them that there exists today what has come to be called the "Palestinian issue," and this for the simple reason that they are not men of dialogue.

In 1947, when the West wanted to relocate the Israelis, who had suffered all kinds of torment from Hitler, the Arabs refused to live with the Jews, but the Arabs were totally lacking in organization in the face of a Ben Gurion, who had no difficulty--also with UN support--in proclaiming the state of Israel.

History also teaches us that the Arabs could even have countered all the Jewish actions. Unfortunately, they always refused any peace plans proposed to them. Having withdrawn into the Gaza Strip, Cisjordan, and Jordan, the Palestinians strengthened the "civilianization" of international terrorism against a small country of barely 6,000 sq km, but strongly organized and mobilized around a common ideal: protection of the Jewish nation.

Of all the Arabs, only Sadat came to support dialogue. His country was the main target, while his Arab brothers were skinning other cats. Moreover, they held back all the resources which could have helped Sadat. More than that, we know that it was his brothers who eliminated him for having wanted to sign the peace with Israel.

We do not know whether he was to sign another peace agreement instead of the Palestinians themselves. For the Palestinian issue is above all an Arab one. The solution can only come through a clear vision of things. It is clear that the military balance for a long time hence will remain favorable to the Israelis, who are much more highly motivated than their opponents.

Has not Sadat's successor himself said that his brother Arabs can demand anything else of him except touching the Camp David agreements? Do not his brother Arabs think ahead about the Palestinian issue? Yes, but again the Arab nation, which is allergic to dialogue, prefers not to sit around a table to discuss and seek out solutions to create peaceful coexistence in the area.

The world was divided up by the big powers. Even in Africa, we still suffer considerably in seeing families and tribes divided by borders, by barriers. This is without considering the ideological separations which the same great powers have imposed on us.

Israel is a state of law and fact. If the Arabs could understand and accept this premise as a matter of course, they would have already realized that it is a matter of negotiating with a sovereign state. Saudi Arabia has indeed recognized this in its Fahd plan. However, as we have said, given their rejection philosophy, the Arabs have been incapable of following up the work of the last Arab League summit conference at Fes, in Morocco.

Thus, there is more than meets the eye, and they are trying to make us swallow a deceptive mouthful. Read on.

Having witnessed the return of the Sinai, we stayed on for 2 weeks in Cairo, in an Arab country. Morocco and Jordan sent congratulatory messages to President Mubarak. Sudan is not a member of the Rejection Front, which explains its problems with Libya. Among the Arabs themselves, many have a favorable attitude to Israel and would like to sign a lasting peace with it.

However, at the highest levels the traditional chauvinism runs strong, and no one dares to raise his voice, at the risk of being crushed.

Today, Zaire's renewal of relations with Israel draws protests and threats from all quarters. Saudi Arabia breaks relations with us in order to paralyze the other black African states who might be tempted to follow in our steps. This is simple blackmail, just because Saudi Arabia gives a little money to us blacks. However, go to live in an Arab country and you will experience shameless racism. Two weeks were enough to fully confirm this for us. "Who brought these Africans," a Ministry of Information official said to us in Cairo.

In fact, the black African countries are regarded as permanent indigents; beggars to be subjugated. It is those people who cannot understand Zaire. In 1973 no Arab country was consulted, yet today we are expected to bargain for our sovereignty. How can we understand the fact that the Westerners and Americans maintain relations with both the Israelis and the Arabs? The latter have never required their "friends" to break relations. On the contrary, the majority of Arab funds are deposited in Western banks.

Who Is Deceiving Whom?

Everyone knows about the Western support for South Africa. What Arab country has broken off relations with its European or U.S. banker to support us? Yet

blacks are really suffering under apartheid. Namibia still waits for its independence. What action has the Arab League taken to this end?

Today's world is certainly one of formalities, interminable conventions. What can we really expect from the North-South dialogue which is, to say the least, utopian? What are the chances of a South-South dialogue? What is the nature of Arab-African friendship? We may be aware of its justification for the short term, but in the long term it will lead to interference. If in future we have to consult them about our policies, then that will be the end of our sovereignty.

In sum, we will understand everything on the day that the Arab countries break off their relations with the Western allies of Israel.

#### Misfortune of the Philistines

Everyone has been waiting a long time for a Palestinian solution. We discussed this in our reportage. The Arabs have never done anything concrete to help their Palestinian brothers. The contrary is true.

In 1970, the Palestinians were massacred in Amman, Jordan, because they were regarded as "intolerable." These same Palestinians took over southern Lebanon, where they hold sway like masters. The Lebanese tragedy was not caused by the Africans or the Europeans, but by the Arabs themselves.

Moreover, as long as they stubbornly refuse to recognize the existence of Israel, they will never help the Palestinians to live peacefully in Cisjordan or the Gaza Strip. No country can stand idle when a neighboring state is hostile. One can find justification for Israel's attitude.

How long will it be before there is a real peace in the Middle East? Very simply, when the Arabs understand. Today, we sometimes have the impression that they turn a deaf ear because in reality they would not like to see the establishment, under present circumstances, of a country peopled by the Palestinians, whom history had called the Philistines. History repeats itself.

#### Further Commentary

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 23-24 May 82 p 3

[Article by Tumba Mulumba: "Zaire-Israel: Political Realism"]

[Text] It is exactly 10 days since Zaire took the decision to renew diplomatic relations with the state of Israel. This decision, we repeat, was a sovereign decision made in full independence.

It was the natural thing for us to normalize diplomatic relations between our two countries, especially since the fraternal country to the north, Egypt, the country most concerned, had already reestablished ties with the friend to the northeast. This demonstrates that Zaire does not have to take lessons from anyone, nor does it have the duty to consult anyone about its foreign policy.

This was the case 9 years ago when General Mobutu announced the breaking of diplomatic relations with Israel from the high rostrum of the United Nations.

As anyone will readily conclude, the decision to reestablish diplomatic relations between Kinshasa and Tel Aviv was a further demonstration of the head of state's political realism.

This was recognized, along with praise for General Mobutu's exceptional qualities of statesmanship, by David Kimchy, director general of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at the ceremony for reopening of the Israeli Embassy on Friday.

Also, the acting charge d'affaires of the Israeli Embassy gave a reception at the Etoile Restaurant of the Intercontinental Hotel on Saturday. A number of Zairian political leaders and members of the diplomatic corps attended. Individuals are not forbidden to comment in detail on the event in the corridors. The president-founder stated clearly in his 4 October 1973 speech to the United Nations that relations between Zaire and Israel would remain interrupted until the latter returned the Egyptian territory it had occupied.

In certain chancelleries around the world, people are making ridiculous comments about the reestablishment of relations between Zaire and Israel. Surely everyone followed the results of the mini-summits, conferences, and other meetings between Egyptians and Israelis which ended so felicitously at Camp David.

Why should Zaire stick to its position after Cairo and Tel Aviv had exchanged ambassadors and the Sinai had been returned on 25 April 1982?

The others did not believe their eyes, and President Sadat paid with his life. This is why Israel did not want to reexamine its conscience. Why then should the bilateral relations between two countries arouse such a tempest round the world.

At any rate, as we write these lines, the Israeli flag already flies over Kinshasa. In the near future, if circumstances allow, the Zairian flag will be raised over Tel Aviv, the capital of the Jewish state, and not over Jerusalem.

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